

LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC SENATORS ON AID TO GVN

Humphrey stated explicitly in February, 1972 that he would support economic and military aid to the GVN after the U. S. withdrew, if South Vietnam were attacked and if it was "judged to be in the United States' interests." (Tab 1)

Muskie said in April, 1971 that "supply and money may have to continue for a longer time" after U. S. withdrawal. In 1972 he expected that "logistical supply" might have to continue for a "transitional period" -- but he qualified it by stating that it "ought not to be the basis for a continuation of the war." He would cut off aid to Saigon if the GVN was not "making substantial progress towards peace." (Tab 2)

Mansfield in early 1973 supported "backup help of an economic nature" for our allies, and even "logistical support," in accordance with the Nixon Doctrine. He saw the Paris Agreement as achieving what he wanted, and that a price had to be paid for it in terms of other commitments. An SFRC report in May 1972 on the Mansfield (troop withdrawal) amendment highlighted the special importance of withdrawal of U. S. troops even if the war should "continue indefinitely after United States troops leave." (Tab 3)

Kennedy always stressed humanitarian/refugee aid. He wanted the UN to do it. In 1971 he declared himself against continued aid to the GVN. (Tab 4)

McGovern consistently opposed any aid, economic or military, to the GVN. (Tab 5)

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

February 10, 1972 as quoted in the

New York Times, February 12, 1972 :

"Mr. Humphrey also said he would provide American military and economic aid -- in the form of equipment but not men -- after the United States withdraws, but only if South Vietnam comes under renewed attacks and such aid is judged to be in United States interests."

MC GOVERN

McGovern consistently spoke against any kind of support of the "Saigon generals" and their "corrupt, repressive regime."

1. Face The Nation, April 2, 1972:

"George Herman: . . . . we should unilaterally stop our aid to South Vietnam while other powers are continuing to give aid to the North Vietnamese?"

"Sen. McGovern: I think it is in our interest to do that."

2. Proposal, October 10, 1972: "I say -- General Thieu is not worth one more American dollar, one more American prisoner, one more drop of American blood."

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"I would. . . . immediately terminate any shipments of military supplies that continue the war."

Senator Edward M. Kennedy

"Thirty Minutes With...",  
WETA-TV, Channel 26  
Washington, D.C.  
June 8, 1971:

"I think that's the best way to free the prisoners. And I think what's more important perhaps -- well, nothing is more important than ending the war and freeing the prisoners, but it -- American prisoners -- but we want to terminate the violence in that country. I don't think our obligations are satisfied when we see the return of American prisoners, when we get the last American. We have responsibility to terminate the violence."

Question and Answer Session  
Congressional Bi-partisan  
Intern Program  
Washington, D.C.  
July 7, 1971:

"When asked if he favored "continued aid to the Thieu government presuming he is re-elected in October after our withdrawal from Vietnam," Kennedy replied, "Do I favor continued aid? No, I don't."

Address to Washington Press Club,  
January 17, 1972:

"Let us end completely every aspect of our military involvement in Vietnam, once and for all."

Address, January 18, 1972, at Dinner  
honoring U Thant sponsored by International  
League for the Rights of Man, Plaza Hotel,  
New York (cited in New York Times, Jan.  
19, 1972):

"Senator Edward M. Kennedy proposed last night that the United Nations be requested to undertake a systematic

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effort to restore and rehabilitate the people of North and South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

"He suggested that a request be made to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to convene an international conference on Indochina relief as soon as possible.

"He added that through the good offices of the Secretary General the conference should set up an international relief organization that would have such tasks as receiving and channeling relief contributions and arranging for the safe conduct of mercy missions into difficult areas in all of Indochina."

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Kennedy Statement  
January 26, 1972:

"We do not need an eight-point plan to end the war. All we need is a one point plan -- a complete withdrawal of American ground, sea, and air forces, by a date certain, in exchange for a return of our prisoners."

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Report  
on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1972,  
May 31, 1972:

"Perhaps the war will continue indefinitely after the United States forces leave. No one can foresee the final military or political outcome in the area. But the Committee is convinced that the continued presence of our forces works to prevent the operation of natural political factors that might result in a settlement between the parties and assures the continued imprisonment of captured Americans. There is much evidence that the overwhelming sentiment of the American people is for total withdrawal as soon as possible. Enactment of the Mansfield amendment should end the stalemate, effect the return of our fighting men, the release of our prisoners and, hopefully, set the stage for the rebuilding process that is needed for the American spirit."

SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD

Congressional Record - January 26, 1973:

"And may I say that I would anticipate that the Nixon doctrine, which was promulgated almost three years ago by the President of the United States, would now go into effect. That means, as I interpret it, that we would gradually withdraw militarily from various countries throughout Asia and the world, that those countries would henceforth have to depend upon themselves primarily. As far as our allies are concerned, we would be willing to extend backup help of an economic nature, but would not intervene or interfere in any way in the affairs of any nation."

*(Cong. Rec., Senate, Jan. 26, 1973, p. 51286)*

Interview with Newsmen - January 27, 1973:

(quoted in the Washington Post, January 28, 1973)

"In discussing the end of fighting in Vietnam, Mansfield said, "I think we have an obligation" to help in the rebuilding of all Indochina, including North Vietnam.

Hearings of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Feb. 21, 1973:

"The Nixon Doctrine as I understand it calls for the gradual withdrawal of our forces all over the world and a greater dependence on the nations with whom we have ties, with the United States furnishing, in specific instances, only logistical support."

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"So I look at this picture, the things that I have been arguing for have, in effect, been achieved. I realize that there is a price attached to such an agreement and after to see the details, after proposal, are made to Congress, it is my intention, insofar as I possibly can, to support proposals of that nature because I wanted the war to end. I wanted our men withdrawn. I wanted our POWs and recoverable MIAs returned home. Therefore, I will be most interested and, insofar as I am able, most supportive in any negotiations which led to commitments of various kinds which have not yet been consummated, because I think you have to balance the one against the other."

*Those are the factors in which I was most interested*

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Meet the Press Interview  
January 16, 1972:

"The question of transitional aid would depend, I think, upon the nature of our withdrawal, whether or not it is the result of negotiated withdrawal and a negotiated date, a unilateral date for withdrawal. It would depend also upon, I think, what the military situation is with respect to the continuation of the war... I think Americans understand that military assistance initially led to our greater involvement and to where we now are and we ought not to repeat that mistake, so I think all I can suggest as a guideline is that our military assistance ought not to be the basis for a continuation of the war."

New York Times  
February 2, 1972:

"Second, we must urge the government in Saigon to move toward a political accomodation with all elements of their society. Without such an accomodation, the war cannot be ended, and it is clear that the American people will not support an indefinite war either by our presence or by proxy."

Pennsylvania Television  
Address  
April 17, 1972:

"I will cut off military aid to the government in Saigon if it is not making substantial progress towards peace. If it is wrong for Americans to fight in Indochina, then it is wrong for us to give weapons to others so they can continue the fight."

Senator Edmund Muskie

Cleveland Plain Dealer  
April 18, 1971:

"Muskie was asked if his definition of total withdrawal included Air Force, supplies, and logistics. He replied that "supply and money may have to continue for a longer time."

"After the session, when asked whether he meant that America should continue to supply the South Vietnamese government with arms after American forces leave, Muskie said that this was a "transitional problem very difficult to decide without military advice and guidance" and that it was impossible for a senator to "establish policy on all these tactical problems."

Remarks -- "Indochina: Another View"  
ABC Television  
April 22, 1971:

"We have done as much for the South Vietnamese government as anyone could reasonably have asked of us. It is not unreasonable now to ask that government to test its own ability to survive."

Press Conference  
Portland, Maine  
January 4, 1972:

"We may have to continue for sometime logistical supply in a transition period, but I don't think our support should make possible the continuation of the war. I see no reason why we should guarantee the political life of any South Vietnamese politician."